

The CDA of 2008 Presidential Campaign Speeches of Democratic Candidates with Respect to Their Gender & Race

Mohammad Rahimi *

Assistant Professor, Shiraz University, Shiraz, Iran

&

Ehya Amal Saleh

PhD in TEFL, English Department of Paramedical School, SUMS, Shiraz, Iran

&

Sanaz Deghat

MA in TEFL, Shiraz University, Shiraz, Iran

Abstract

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides an analytical and political approach to language in context and it concerns with manifestations of ideology and power/dominance relations in society, manifestations of social asymmetry via discourse, racism, sexism and in general segregation and discrimination (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). The present study, applying some of the most agreed upon guidelines of critical discourse analysis, aimed at analyzing the discursive structures of the 2008 presidential campaign speeches of democratic candidates-- Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama--to see if they carry and enforce certain ideologies. The methodology used in this study was generally based upon Hodge and Kress's (1996) framework and the texts were compared and contrasted to find the traces of gender and/or race of the candidates. From among a hundred tapescripts, fifty were randomly selected. The results of the study showed the discursial features used in the speeches made by the two candidates were significantly influenced by their *race* and *gender*.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; Discursive Structure; Hodge and Kress's Framework; Gender; Race

**E-mail address:* rahimim@shirazu.ac.ir

Corresponding address: Department of English Language and Literature, Shiraz University, Shiraz, Iran

Introduction

The study of discourse has attracted the attention of many scholars working in the field of social sciences. The term discourse refers to any form of language use in the society. (Van Dijk, 1997; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Fairclough, 1993), and it may denote different meanings to different people. It concerns linguistic utterances exchanged between the speaker/writer and the hearer/ reader. Van Dijk (1997, p. 2) defines discourse as “the use that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social context.” Wodak and Ludwig (1999), in line with Van Dijk, hold that, on one hand, discourse is affected by the society in which it is used and on the other, it affects the society and the relationship existing there.

However, as Fairclough (1993) maintains, CDA goes beyond the acknowledgement of the social dimension of discourse. In fact, one of the main tenets of CDA is to display how discourse is both affected by and affects the society and how it contributes to constructing the social identity. In other words, CDA attempts to shed light on the mutual relationship existing between language and the society; it emphasizes that language does not exist devoid of the context in which it is employed. One way to show the role of the language is to investigate the agentivity found in the text and define it as a form of social practice that entails a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and social situations (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.78).

According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), recently, approaches to language in context, offered by CDA, involve both an analytical approach and an interdisciplinary political approach aiming at uncovering the underlying ideology and power/dominance relation disseminated in the text. CDA in general strives to reveal any sorts of discriminations, including racism and sexism, hidden in the language/text used. In a similar vein, Fairclough (1992) defines CDA as the approach taken to explore opaque relationship of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, to investigate how such practices, events, and texts are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony” (p. 135).

Hence, the purpose of CDA is to discover how discursive practices would lead to certain discriminations, including the unequal power relations existing among different layers of the society. Such inequalities can potentially pose social problems CDA ultimately aims at exploring.

The present study, following approaches set forth by proponents of CDA, is to shed light on whether and how the political discourse can be under the influence of gender and race, among others, of the speakers. In other words, it is to discover how race and gender may potentially or even unconsciously sneak into the political discourse.

Literature Review

Political discourse has attracted the attention of many scholars. For instance, Lean (2008) investigated how the newspapers discourse (mis)represented Malaysia's Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi and Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, during the *handover period*. More specifically, following the analytical paradigm of CDA employed by Hodge and Kress (1996), as well as those suggested by Van Dijk (1996, 1998), Fairclough (1992, 1995, , 2003) and Fowler (1991), the study aimed at exploring what discursive features constituted the newspaper discourse and what discursive strategies were employed to conceal ideological meaning. For example, they represented Abdullah and Lee as "Mr. Nice Guy" and "Mr. Mysterious Guy," respectively.

Lillian (2008) analyzed the use of modal auxiliaries in two political texts: *Beyond Greed: A traditional conservative confronts Neoconservative Excess*, produced by Hugh Segal, as a "mainstream" Canadian conservative; and *The War Against the Family*, delivered by William D. Gairdner, a far right neoconservative position in Canadian politics. Utilizing the modal categories suggested by Fowler (1985), Lillian classified the modals into five categories, namely, validity, predictability, desirability, obligation, and permission and found that the most frequently used modals were validity and predictability.

Following Van Leeuwen's (1996) framework, Yarmohammadi and Seif (2004) studied the representation of social actors in the texts produced by Israelis and Palestinians during their struggle. The results showed that there was a bilateral link between discursive structures and ideologies.

Khosravi Nik (2000), working on the Iranian newspapers, showed the way political ideologies were produced and used in texts in a covert way. To do so, he utilized four linguistic features, namely, nominalization, active/passive, transactive/non-transactive and naming, worked on the Iranian newspapers. He showed the way these features found in the texts served to manipulate the news and the way political ideologies were produced and used in texts in a covert way. In this way, politicians try to lead people to unconsciously accept/ believe the view they propagate.

Van Dijk (1998) worked on the texts taken from the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, belonging to two ideologically opposing camps: liberals and conservatives. The results of the analysis revealed how the news and the world are under the influence of American ideologies.

The studies reviewed above have all analyzed political genre mainly with respect to the extent to which the language produced by the speakers/writers reflects the ideology of the political camps/parties they belong to, and thereby they try to manipulate the listeners/readers consciously or unconsciously. Nonetheless, to the best of the knowledge of the researchers, although some studies have been carried out on the effect of race (Boyd, 2009) on political discourse, no study has ever been conducted on the extent to which the personal features of the politicians like their gender and race impacts their political discursal features.

The Study

Through analyzing the 2008 presidential campaign speeches of democratic candidates, i.e. Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, in terms of the discursive structures they used, the present study intends to investigate if the politicians' gender and race would consciously/unconsciously affect their text and talk. More specifically, the aim of the present study is to investigate whether discursive features used in the speeches of these politicians are different with respect to their gender and race. In other words, it is to see if the traces of gender and race of the speakers are reflected in their speeches.

Research Questions

The study aims at finding answers to the following questions:

- 1) Are discursal features used in the campaign speeches of the 2008 US democratic candidates different with respect to their gender?

2) Are discursal features used in their speeches different with respect to their race?

Method

Corpus of the study

The materials used in this study were 50 randomly selected tape-scripts of the candidates' speeches that appeared in English magazines and newspapers such as, *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, and some others were transcribed from radio and TV programs.

Data collection procedure and data analysis

The data provided in this paper were analyzed within the framework proposed by Hodge and Kress (1996). The transcripts of Clinton's and Obama's speeches were separately analyzed with respect to syntactic and semantic aspects and, then, compared with each other. To put it more clearly, the texts were analyzed to determine if the discursive structures used are ideologically-loaded. In so doing, firstly, the texts were explored to spot syntactic aspects such as grammar, vocabulary, and modality. Moreover, special lexical, syntactic, and grammatical selections were detected to see if they represent certain ideological significance. Then, the contents of the texts were analyzed with respect to the semantic features of the lexicons and the ideologically-loaded expressions employed.

Since the findings are reported in terms of frequencies and percentages, in order to see if the differences (if any) between the discursal features used in the speeches of the two speakers is significant, *Chi-square* test was applied. In general, the texts were analyzed for quantitative and qualitative differences, with respect to gender and race.

Theoretical Framework

The framework used for the present study is the one introduced by Hodge and Kress (1996). They assert that the commonly invisible relationship which governs language, power, and ideology can be visible by analyzing the text based on this model. The model also reveals that the reader/listener usually does not have access to the reality since the writer/speaker, depending upon his/her intention and/ or ideology, may change or even show it the other way around. Hence, texts available are usually transformed to meet the intention of their producers.

Furthermore, texts, according to Hodge and Kress, may be transformed to lead the reader to read and/or understand the text in the way the writer wishes. This is not usually done accidentally; rather, it is the writer's underlying intention or ideology which leads the reader to believe or accept what is read. Hodge & Kress (1996, p. 6) define ideology as "a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view". The ideology, embedded in the language we use, becomes "immersed in the ongoing life of a society, as the practical consciousness of that society" (1996, p. 6).

In order to find the probable underlying ideology disseminated through the text, the following features form the basis of investigation within the framework proposed by Hodge and Kress: grammar, modality and lexicon (vocabulary).

Grammar

According to Hodge and Kress (1996), language consists of a related set of categories and processes and its grammar can show the community and the relationship existing there. They hold that each text is analyzed with regard to two properties: syntagmatic models and transformations. Syntagmatic models are categories and processes describing the interrelation of objects and events, which are based on two basic categories, i.e., actionals (A) and relationals (R). The former describes the occasions where one or two objects are related to a verbal process (an action); the latter, on the other hand, deals with relational and existential processes and can be classified as either equative or attributive. The actionals can further be divided into two categories:

1) Transactives (T): Structures in which there are two entities (or objects) related by means of a verbal process. In this category, one of the entities affects another one. One causes the action, the other is affected by it and the action is passing from the actor to the affected. If the writer is concerned with establishing causes and causal relations, the T is the best model for the job.

Example:

I'm gonna have to review everything they've done.

2) Nontransactives (NT): Structures in which only one entity is related to a process. In this case, it is not clear if the entity is affecting or being affected, so it is difficult to know whether it is the actor or the affected.

Example:

The power grab undertaken by the Bush-Cheney administration has gone much further.

The Rs are not a relation of action or process but of simple relation between two entities or between an entity and a quality. They can be divided into two categories, i.e., equatives and attributives. In equatives, a relation is established between nouns, and no action is performed; rather, two entities are related to a verb. In attributives, there is one entity related to a quality, establishing the relation between nouns and qualities. The attributive model brings out the act of judgment. So, in the text in which there are a high number of attributives, the writer is judgmental. The equative model, however, is the articulation of the logic of a system as well as building relationship between various categories.

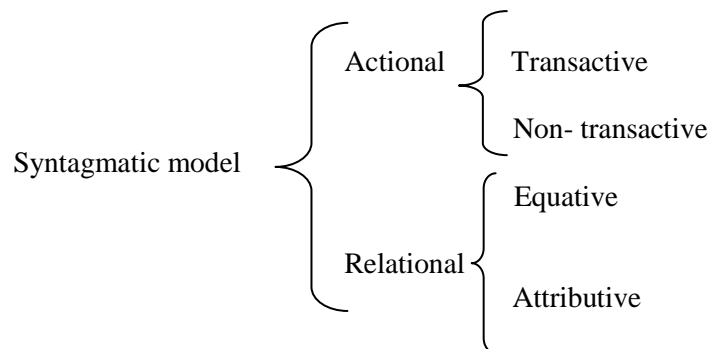
Example for equatives:

1. **This has been a long campaign.**
2. **Terrorism is a tool... .**

Example for attributives:

1. **We are grateful.**
2. **Our democracy is stronger.**

The basic model proposed by Hodge and Kress (1996, p. 9) to characterize such classifications in English is schematized below.



In this model, actional represents the relationships perceived in the physical world and relational displays the outcomes of the activity of the mind, making judgments, commenting and so on.

Another kind of operation which can be performed in language is transformation. Transformations are a series of operations on basic forms e.g. the actor is deleted and the elements of a syntagm are reordered in the passive (P).

Examples:

- 1. I have been accused of everything.**
- 2. It will be put into context.**

Furthermore, the texts can also be analyzed in terms of nominalization (N). Nominalization is the case when actions are turned into objects, and verbal processes are turned into nouns. The main function of N is to make the relationship between the actor and the affected opaque. The following sentence is an example of N:

Stephanie, a loving mother; who never gave up her quest to make America fairer.

Modality

Modality, according to Hodge and Kress (1996), “ is the indication of the degree of likelihood, probability, weight or authority the speaker attaches to the utterance.”(p. 9). Furthermore, modality “indicates the mode within which an utterance is presented as true, reliable authoritative.” (p.85)

Modality used in a text can reveal the underlying attitude of the speaker/writer. Through modality, the speaker/writer can mitigate and/or aggravate the intention of the text producer. See the examples below:

Example:

- 1. Congress would have granted.**
- 2. I think we can have an approach that tries to project power and authority in an appropriate way.**

Vocabulary and semantic features analysis

To express one’s idea, the writer/ speaker, out of myriad of options, chooses certain vocabularies. And if this is done systematically, it can imply the presence of certain ideology or at least attitude taken towards the issue. One way to assess the likelihood of an underlying ideology governing the speaker/writer is to perform lexical analysis. Different people may resort to different lexicon to describe an identical event. And since, as Van Dijk (2006) points out, there is an

interdependence relationship between vocabulary and ideology, it is useful to analyze the lexicon to determine if the language producer is using/choosing the vocabulary to imply a certain ideology. However, it is worth mentioning that since vocabularies are not free from grammar, they are found in the form of nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adverbs.

Semantic feature analysis (SFA), introduced by Anders and Bos (1986), can help us reinforce vocabulary that is essential to understanding important concepts in a text. In other words, SFA is a strategy that can be used to visually organize new concepts and related vocabulary. SFA also allows you to show comparative relationship among different words related to the same concept. In other words, texts are analyzed with respect to semantic features and are searched for the ideologically loaded expressions in noun phrases (NPs).

Results and Discussion

Syntactic features

In this part, the results of the analysis of the discursal features of the text with respect to the three dimensions of discourse, namely grammar, modality, and vocabulary, have been presented.

Grammar

The grammatical features found in Clinton's and Obama's talks are represented in Table 1.

Table 1
The presentation of grammatical features of the articles excerpted from Clinton's and Obama's texts

Texts		Syntagmatic				Transformation		
		T	NT	R	Total	N	P	Total
Clinton	#	1578	3009	1160	5747	60	255	315
	%	27.45	52.3	20.18	100*	19.04	80.9	
Obama	#	1107	2130	784	4021	21	186	207
	%	27.5	52.9	19.49	100*	10.14	89.8	
Chi-square		$X^2=0.01$ $P=0.890$	$X^2=0.01$ $P=0.92$	$X^2=0.00$ $P=1.00$		$X^2=2.79$ $P=0.09$	$X^2=0.47$ $P=0.49$	

*The number is rounded due to fractions

According to Table 1, with respect to syntagmatic model, the number of T, NT, and R in both texts is almost the same, with slight differences among them. The

results of the *Chi-square* test, too, show no significant difference between each syntagmatic model used in the speeches of Clinton and Obama. As the table indicates, with respect to syntagmatic model, the most frequent one employed by Clinton and Obama was NT (52.3% and 52.9%, respectively).

As mentioned before, the two models, i.e. T and NT, present different versions of causality. In the T model, there is an actor, the verbal process, and an affected entity. The actor and affected are linked through the verbal process; on the other hand, in the NT model, just one entity is directly involved in the process and it is not distinguished as either the actor or affected. Here, in both Obama's and Clinton's texts, the higher number of NT can imply their tendency toward obscuring the relation between the actor and affected. The reason might be the fact that sometimes the candidates make promises that they might not be able to keep in future. In other words, politicians *promised the moon* before an election, but things might turn as they claimed power. So, both Obama and Clinton, through the great usage of NTs, give the impression of evading responsibility and not being criticized when they are in power. Look at the following example from Obama:

...every time the railroad goes by the tracks, the building shake...

The word *it* is not an actor and so it does not initiate or cause the process. Nor is it really affected. It is just involved in the process. It is not clear who can be responsible for that.

Look at another example of the sentences stated by Obama:

You are going to have a place once again where you can get health care in the immediate area.

Again it is not clear who is going to be responsible for providing health care. However, with respect to transformation, as the data presented in Table 1 reveal, Clinton has used a higher percentage of Ns in her speech (19.04% for Clinton and 10.14% for Obama), though the result of the chi-square test is not significant ($X^2 = 2.79$, $p > 0.05$). Nominalization, as indicated before, by turning actions into objects or verbal processes into nouns can blur the actor-affected relationship. See these examples taken from Clinton's words:

1. **The dreams of people like them and like you all across our country.**
2. **The victory we share tonight is deeply personal.**

In these examples, Clinton talks about the dreams and the victory. The noun *dreams* is used in a possessive form and the noun *victory* does not show who wins over who/what. Look at this example, too.

1. Every single election that we've had so far.
2. Well, let's be clear, withdrawal is not defeat.

In this example, *Who* has elected *whom* is blurred through the nominalization (i.e. election). And hence, our attention is more directed toward what is present and not what is not there anymore. In this way she has altered the focus of the expression to hide the real entity of the actor.

In addition to nominalization, passive voice can direct the audience attention from the actor to the affected and at times it might never be clear who is responsible for that action. With regard to passives, we can see that the number of passives used in Obama's texts is a bit higher than that of Clinton (89.8% and 80.9%, respectively), though again the difference is not statistically significant ($X^2=0.47$, $p >0.05$). In passives, the actor has been deleted, and, hence, we cannot always be certain of the specific identity of the deleted actor. For instance, in this sentence from Obama's talk;

- A lot of economic rights that have to be dealt with.**

The actor in this example is deleted and, then, it is not obvious who wants to deal with a lot of economic rights. Even if the audience may realize who the real actor is, the speaker can evade responsibility because he didn't directly refer to the doer of the action.

Moreover, we can see that in passives, through moving the affected to the slot occupied by the theme of the sentence (what it is about), the writer, in fact, weakens the relationship between the doer and affected as well as that between the doer and the action. Further, the causal relation is lost and so the audience may never find who is in charge of dealing with *a lot of economic right*. Here, comes another example taken from Obama's talk:

1. **But let's understand more broadly that the economic problems that African-Americans are experiencing, whites are experiences, blacks and Latinos are experiencing in this country are all rooted in the fact that we have had an economy out of balance.**

2. Let me first of all say that I have worked on the streets of Chicago as an organizer with people who have been laid off from steel plants, black, white, Hispanic, Asian.

Here based on the examples observed above and the great number of other passives used by Obama, it might be concluded that since he is black and blacks usually criticize the whites as the governing agents and, at the same time, he needs the votes of the white people, too, he has not mentioned the real agents i.e. the whites and has tried to hide it. At the same time, he talks about the problems of the blacks to collect the votes of the black people. For example in the above sentence, he has not mentioned that the whites push the blacks out of job and the actor is not clear.

Taking a further look at Table 1, one can see that both Obama and Clinton have used great numbers of passives and nominalizations in their texts (N: 19.04% and P: 80.9% for Clinton and N: 10.14% and P: 89.8% for Obama) because, as mentioned above, sometimes the candidates make some promises before the elections but they will not be able to keep them when in power. Hence, to refrain from being criticized in such a situation, both Obama and Clinton have strived to obscure the relation between the actor and the affected. For example, here, in these examples taken from Obama and Clinton's talk, respectively;

1. We should not use immigration as a tactic to divide.
2. There are job losses. And I think we should be honest about that... that is actually in the best interests of those who are concerned about losing their jobs or already have. ... both those who are undocumented.

In sum, in spite of the minor differences between the two with respect to nominalization and passivization, the syntactic features of the two are almost the same.

Modality

As mentioned above, modality used in a text can show the likelihood of the occurrence of an action, event, etc. Furthermore, it can show the underlying attitude of the speaker/writer toward that action. Here, the texts have been analyzed with respect to the following features:

- 1) Modal auxiliaries; 2) Adverbs; and 3) Verbs.

1. Modal auxiliary

Table 2 represents the frequencies and percentages of the use of modal auxiliaries in the texts produced by the two candidates.

Table 2
Modal Auxiliaries used in Obama's and Clinton's speeches

Candidate	Must	May & Might	Total
Obama	52 (10.07%)	29 (5.6%)	516
Clinton	19 (2.4%)	43 (5.5%)	768
<i>Chi-square</i>	$X^2=5.33$ $P=0.02^*$	$X^2=0.00$ $P=1.00$	

A large number of modalizers indicate either considerable uncertainty on the speaker's part or the uncertainty the speaker wishes to impart. In Tables 2, modal auxiliaries have been classified according to the degree of certainty. *Must* shows a higher degree of certainty and *might*, and *may* indicate a low degree of certainty. Table 2 indicates that the frequency of the usage of *may* and *might* in both Clinton's and Obama's talks are almost the same (5.6% and 5.5%, respectively), with no statistically significant difference between them.

However, as the table illustrates, Obama has used a higher percentage of *must* (10.07%) as compared to Clinton (2.4%). The result of the *Chi-square* test shows a significant difference between the frequencies of the use of *must* by the two candidates ($X^2=5.33$, $p < 0.001$). This represents more certainty on the Obama's part. This may be attributed to the gender of the speaker; that is, Obama, as compared to Clinton, seems to be more likely to denote certainty (Newman, 2008). Look at the following instances of the use of *must* by Obama.

These now are the walls we must tear down.

(He means the wall between races and tribes, natives and immigrants, as well as Christians, Muslims, and Jews.)

This is the moment when we must defeat terror and dry up the well of extremism that supports it...We can stand with the vast majority of Muslims who reject the extremism that leads to hate instead of hope.(July 24 2008)

2. Adverbs

One way of indicating modal status is through modal adverbs: *possibly*, *probably*, *certainly*, *strongly*, *obviously*, etc. As Table 3 indicates, the modal adverbs have

been arranged according to certainty degree. Adverbs such as 'probably', 'perhaps', and 'possibly' represent uncertainty, whereas adverbs such as 'certainly', 'absolutely' and 'strongly' suggest certainty. Table 3 represents the percentage of the use of these adverbs by Obama and Clinton.

Table 3
Modal Adverbs

Features		Obama	Clinton	<i>Chi-square</i>
Uncertainty	Probably	33.3%	25%	$X^2=1.10$ $P=29$
	Possibly			
	Perhaps			
Certainty	Certainly	66.6%	75%	$X^2=0.45$ $P=0.50$
	Strongly			
	Obviously			

According to Table 3, there is a minute difference between Obama and Clinton's talk with respect to modal adverbs. The results of *Chi-square test*, too, for both cases does not show a significant difference between Clinton and Obama in their use of adverbs that indicate certainty and uncertainty. Concerning the issue of certainty presented by each candidate, it seems that the degree of certainty has more to do with the topic of discussion than the gender of the speaker. That is to say, Clinton resorts to using a higher degree of certainty when terrorism is at issue, while Obama does that when talking about minorities. This may attribute their use of certainty to their race rather than their gender. However, in Clinton's texts many of the used adverbs that suggest certainty have been concerned with the issue of terrorism. Here come some examples from her talks:

1. Most prominently terrorism would certainly have brought that about.
2. I remain absolutely confident in our eventual victory over the forces of terror.

Unlike Clinton, Obama does not resort to high certainty when talking about terrorism (examples 1 &2) but he speaks more strongly when he refers to minorities or people from working or middle class (examples 3 &4).

1. We need to have a strike force that can take out potential terrorist bases that get set up in Iraq.
2. I believe that terrorism is a tool that has been utilized throughout history to achieve certain objectives.

3. I am absolutely committed to making sure that anybody in America who needs health care is going to get it.

4. You will have a lot of people who are currently trying to get mortgages who will actually have more of a difficult time.

3. Verbs

The texts was also analyzed with regard to a large class of *verbs* which have modal functions, such as *think*, *seem*, *believe*, *wish*, and *hope*, which are represented in Table 4.

Table 4
Modal Verbs

verbs	Obama	Clinton	<i>Chi-square</i>
Believe	30 (28%)	49 (21.8%)	$X^2=0.72$ $P=0.39$
Think	74 (69.15%)	144 (64.2%)	$X^2=0.18$ $P=0.66$
Wish	0	3 (1.3%)	Can't be applied
Hope	3 (2.8%)	25 (11.1%)	$X^2=4.57$ $P=0.03^*$
Seem	0	3 (1.3%)	Cant' be applied
Total	107	224	

According to Table 4, the only case where Clinton has used significantly more verbs with a modal function is the use of the verb *hope* ($X^2=4.57$, $P < 0.05$). In other cases, there is either no significant difference between the two or the frequency of use is too low. Using the verb *hope* by Clinton suggests uncertainty, which, again, might be assigned to her gender and female role (Lakoff, 1975 & Newman, et al, 2008). See another example by Clinton.

And I've said I hope to have nearly all of them out within a year.

Vocabulary and semantic features analysis

In discourse, one of the influential elements revealing the speaker's ideology is the word he/she uses to describe an event or action. Both Obama's and Clinton's texts have used the words that have ideological significance. Texts excerpted from Clinton's and Obama's talks showed that the words they used have ideological significance. Examples from these sentences are briefly discussed below. As for

Clinton, in her speech, one can see examples of words that have emotional loads. She also prefers to make a hint to women's right.

Because of my strong conviction that attention paid to the role and development of women is the most effective investment one can make, I suggested an effort to try to improve maternal health.

Clinton has strived to identify *the role and development of women* as the most effective deal and also she has shown her concerns for *maternal health* and has defended their rights.

Furthermore, as a female candidate she has been eager to defend women's rights. Look at these examples, too:

- 1. The women in their 90s who tell me they were born before women could vote and they're hopeful of seeing a woman in the White House.**
- 2. The next generation will grow up taking for granted that a woman or an African American can be the president of the United States of America.**

However, if she just addressed women as her listener, she wouldn't be able to attract men's vote at the same time. So through changing the focus of the expressions and emphasizing both men and women she strived to win the vote of both men and women, as shown in the following examples:

- 1. In that time, our brave men and women in uniform have done everything we ask of them and more.**
- 2. The mistakes in Iraq are not the responsibility of our men and women in uniform but of their Commander-in-Chief.**

In addition to such words with emotional loads and/ or those in favor of women right, she has used a lot of intensifiers. According to Lakoff (1975) women's speech is characterized by some linguistic features such as tag questions, empty adjectives (e.g. charming, cute) and intensifiers (e.g. just, very). The usage of intensifiers is obvious in the following examples:

- 1. I think it's fair to say that these are the best of the best of our young people in this generation.** (Clinton has referred to the American military)
- 2. Well, you know I've made so many votes, Mike, and I've tried to vote as I thought was the right thing to do, and if you look at my voting record as it's evaluated by most of the progressive organizations that look at voting records,**

I have a very, very high percentage of having voted with them, so I don't quite know what their concern is.

As it is obvious in the following examples, Clinton has used a lot of words with emotional loads.

1. Thank you to the people across America for welcoming me and my family into your homes and your hearts.

2. I will do it with a heart filled with gratitude, with a deep and abiding love for our country. (She has shown her deep and abiding love for her country America.)

In addition, in expressing her view on Iraq's war, as compared with her rival, Obama, she has more emotional stance and views on this war:

1. I want to take a moment to note yesterday's heart breaking news that five years after the start of the war there have now been 4,000 U.S. military deaths in Iraq. Tens of thousands of our brave men and women have also suffered serious wounds, both visible and invisible, to their bodies, their minds, and their hearts.

2. The lives of our brave men and women are at stake. Nearly, 4000 of them have by now made the ultimate sacrifice. Tens of thousands more have suffered wounds both visible and invisible to their bodies, their minds, and their hearts. Their families have sacrificed, too, in empty places at the dinner table, in the struggle to raise children alone, in the wrenching reversal of parents burying children.

3. Veterans wounded in both body and spirit.

According to these examples, Clinton, through the use of such phrases (*heart breaking news, serious wounds to their minds and hearts, the ultimate sacrifice, etc.*), has shown her strong emotion toward the war, with little or no reference given to the cost of this war. What is of great importance to her is the veterans' sacrifice, wounds, and their empty places in the house.

Their families have sacrificed, too, in empty places at the dinner table, in the struggle to raise children alone, in the wrenching reversal of parents burying children.

However, in representing his objection against Iraq's war, Obama has most frequently referred to the economic consequences of the war:

1. I know that even a successful war against Iraq will require a U.S. occupation of undetermined length, at undetermined cost, with undetermined consequences.
2. And if we neglect our economy by spending \$ 200 billion every year in this war that has not made use safer, that is undermining our long-term security.

As these examples show, Obama has been concerned about the cost and economic consequences of the war.

Furthermore, a review of the words used in Obama's speech shows a high incidence of words that refer to the race and minorities. Here come some examples:

1. Many of the uninsured are African American or Latino.
2. Blacks are less likely in their schools to have adequate funding.
3. That bridge outside was crossed by blacks and whites.

In sum, it can be said that due to her gender, Clinton has been more feministic, and has used more words with emotional loads defending woman's right and the idea that all men and women must enjoy the same rights and opportunities. What is more, by using such words, Clinton wants to condemn the sources of inequality of females' participation in social and political positions. However, Obama—as a black man—has protected minority and ethnic groups and defended this idea that people of all colors and creeds are equal and must enjoy the same opportunities.

Quite related to vocabulary is the analysis of SFA, both Clinton's and Obama's texts were analyzed with respect to semantic features and was searched for the ideologically loaded expressions in noun phrases (NPs). In so doing, firstly, all semantic features in the texts were codified by the first and the third researchers. The inter-coder reliability as calculated by Chronbach Alpha was 0.85, which is an acceptable index. Among the codified cases, five semantic features that had a higher frequency (i.e. race, gender, class, emotion and minority) were selected to study; afterwards, a matrix was created separately for Clinton's and Obama's texts.

The data concerning SFA are summarized in Tables 5. According to Table 5, among all NPs that have been used in Clinton's texts (3236), 215 were allocated to the features such as race, gender, social class, emotion and minorities.

Table 5
SFA in Clinton's and Obama's talks

	Race	Gender	Social class	Emotion	Minority	Total	Chi-square
Clinton	13.02	38.6	7.9	34.4	6.04	%	$X^2=47.30$ $P=0.00^*$
	28	83	17	74	13	# 215	
Obama	53.8	1.15	6.4	14.3	24.2	%	$X^2=89.1$ $P=0.00^*$
	233	5	28	62	105	# 433	
Chi-square	$X^2=25.09$ $P=0.00^*$	$X^2=36.10$ $P=0.00^*$	$X^2=0.06$ $P=0.79$	$X^2=8.33$ $P=0.004^*$	$X^2=10.80$ $P=0.001^*$		

As it is obvious in Table 5, in Clinton's speech, the highest percentages belong to gender (38.6%) and emotion (34.4%), which are significantly higher than all other semantic features ($X^2=47.30$, $P<0.001$), while among the semantic features signifying Obama's speech the highest percentage belongs to race (53.8%) and minority (24.2%) ($X^2=89.10$, $P<0.001$).

As concerns the difference between Obama and Clinton with respect to the frequency of use of these semantic entities, the results of the *Chi-square* test indicate that words signifying race and minority have been significantly used more frequently by Obama than Clinton ($X^2=25.09$, $P<0.001$ for race and $X^2=10.80$, $P<0.05$ for minority); on the other hand, words signifying gender and emotion have been significantly used more frequently by Clinton than Obama ($X^2=36.10$, $P<0.001$ for gender and $X^2=8.33$, $P<0.05$ for emotion).

With respect to gender, as mentioned above, out of 215 NPs used by Clinton in the texts analyzed, 83 (38.6%) refer to the gender, in one way or another. This figure, as mentioned above is significantly higher than the same category of NPs used by Obama (1.15%). Here come some examples from Clinton's talks:

1. **My mother was born before women could vote.**
2. **The mother whose insurance company won't pay for child's treatment.**
3. **The woman in their 90s who tell me they were born before women could vote and they're hopeful of seeing a woman in the white House.**

It is quite predictable for a woman to talk about the gender issues as it would leave a great impression on the women and would win her a large number of women's votes.

Regarding emotion, according to Table 5, the second highest frequency of NPs in Clinton's texts are emotional words (34.4%), while it is less than half in the case of Obama (14.3%). Again, as mentioned above, this difference is statistically significant. Look at the following examples from Clinton's words:

1. ... **it would break my heart if, in falling short of my goal, I in any way discouraged any of you from pursuing yours.**
2. ... **To my friends from every stage of my life, your love and ongoing commitment sustained me every single day.**
3. **Now, being human, we are imperfect. That's why we need each other, to catch each other when we falter, to encourage each other when we lose heart.**

It is customary for every layer of society to use emotion and everyone tries to win the audience through emotional words. Both Clinton and Obama have tried to win the audience through emotional words. However, one would expect females to use more emotional words than the males (Lakoff, 1975). This would persuade more women to vote for the speaker.

With respect to race, as it is obvious in Table 5, the highest percentage of NPs used by Obama belongs to race (53.8%), while it is only 13.02% in Clinton's speeches. The results of *Chi-square* show a significant difference between the two. Look at some examples excerpted from Obama's talks:

1. **You had huge unemployment rates among African-American youth.**
2. **The answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our constitution.**

As it is obvious in above examples, Obama as a black man and as a representative of black people has tried to defend their rights and promote their opportunities and win their votes.

Regarding minority, the second highest percentage of NPs in Obama's speech are related to minority groups (24.2%); the percentage for the minority feature in Clinton's texts, on the other hand, is much lower (only 6.04). Again, the results of

the *Chi-square* test, indicated in Table 5 show that this difference is significant. Below come examples from the sentences produced by Obama:

1. There is not a Black America and a white America and Latino America and Asian America ... there's the United States of America.

2. ... and universities around the country that are given a little break to young African Americans and Hispanics to make sure that they can go to college, too.

3. As a consequence, we've got what's known as a health care disparity in this nation because many of the uninsured are African American or Latino.

As it is obvious in the above examples, Obama, as a black man, has tried to address his speech to the black people and other minorities living in the US (Hispanics, Asians, and Latinos) and talk about their right; this way, because he himself is black, belonging to a minority group in the United States, he can win the votes of not only the black but also those of the other minority groups.

Nonetheless, the frequency of the use of NPs signifying social class did not turn out to be significantly different in the speeches of the two candidates ($X^2 = 0.06$, $p > 0.05$). As Table 5 indicates, in Clinton's speeches 7.9% of all NPs have been allocated to social class and in Obama's speeches, 6.4%. The two indices are close to each other. However, in Clinton's speeches, as it is shown in Table 6 below, of this index, 6.58% (more than 90% of all cases) belongs to middle class and only 1.31% to working class. The results of *Chi-square* test shows a significant difference between the two percentages ($X^2 = 4.50$, $p < 0.05$).

Table 6
Social Class in Clinton's and Obama's talks

	Social class		<i>Chi-square</i>
	Middle class (%)	Working class (%)	
Clinton	6.58	1.31	$X^2 = 4.50$ $P = 0.03^*$
Obama	1.74	4.65	$X^2 = 1.28$ $P = 0.25$

Look at these examples;

1. But on the day we live in an America whose middle class is thriving and growing again.
2. To rebuild the middle class and sustain the American Dream.
3. We need a president who understands that the genius of America has always depended on the strength and vitality of the middle class.

Clinton by talking so much about the middle class and their rights has striven to win their votes. In fact, talking about middle class is very important because the majority of people belong to this class.

However, as it is obvious in Table 7, in Obama's speeches, of 6.4% of NPS, 1.74% belongs to the middle class and 4.65% to the working class.

Table 7
Social Class in Obama's talks

Social class	Percentage	total
Middle class	1.74	6.4%
Working class	4.65	
<i>Chi-square</i>	$X^2=1.28$ $P=0.25$	

The results of the *Chi-square* test indicate that this difference is not significant ($X^2=1.28$, $P>0.05$). Although the difference is not significant, the results show that Obama, though scanty, has showed more intention to appeal to the working class, or at least does not favor the middle class as it is customary in the presidential speeches. Look at the following examples from Obama.

1. ... elevating the issues of poverty and the plight of working families all across the country.
 2. ... I think it's a right approach for white workers here in the United States.
- As expected, Obama, as an African-American, more frequently referred to the working class in his speech.

Conclusion

To sum up, in this study, it is noticed that gender and race, though at times insignificantly, do play a role in the speeches of the two candidates. For instance, in Clinton's speech it is noticed that the great usage of the features concerning emotion and gender represent her feminine status and also those referring to race

and minority vividly show that the speaker is from a white descendent. In contrast, in Obama's texts, the higher usage of the features related to race and minority represents him as an African American and the low usage of the words referring to gender and emotion in his texts represents his masculinity status; this status is intensified through employing a higher degree of modals denoting certainty.

The use of such discursual features in the language of a person might, however, happen quite unconsciously. In fact, as Van Dijk (2006, p. 116) states since people are gradually equipped with ideology, it will become part of the identity of that person and is represented through the language he/she utilizes and, hence, "a racist ideology may control attitudes about immigration, a feminist ideology may control attitudes about abortion..." Furthermore, he argues that those belonging to certain groups "are able to speak or act on the basis of the acquired ideology, but are not always able to formulate its beliefs explicitly." (p.119). Of course, he emphasizes that no words, phrases, or sentences on their own signify any prefabricated ideology; rather, what is determinant is their systematic use in specific contexts.

Received 25 June 2010

Revised version accepted 28 August 2010

References

- Anders, P., & Bos, C. (1986). Semantic feature analysis: An interactive strategy for vocabulary development and text comprehension, *Journal of Reading*, 29, 610-676.
- Boyd, M. S. (2009). De-constructing Race and Identity in US Presidential Discourse: Barack Obama's Speech on Race, *Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies*, 31(2).
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: the universities, *Discourse & Society*, 4, 133-168.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis*. London: Longman.

- Fairclough, N. (2003). Political correctness: The politics of culture and language, *Discourse and Society*, 14, 17-28.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. Van Dijk (Eds.), *Discourse as social interaction: A multidisciplinary introduction* (Vol 2, pp. 258-84). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news*. London: Routledge.
- Hodge, R., & Kress, G. (1996). *Language as ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publication.
- Khosravi Nik, M. (2000). *The relationship between ideological structures and discursive structures of the editorials and commentaries in a selected of Iranian daily newspaper: A critical discourse perspective*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Shiraz University, Iran.
- Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and women's place*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Lean, M. (2008). New kids on the block: The discursive construction of two new premiers by the mass media, *Critical approaches to discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 2, 59-75.
- Lillian, D. (2008). Modality, Persuasion and Manipulation in Canadian Conservative Discourse, *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 2, 1-16.
- Newman, M., Groom, C., Handelman, L., & Pennebaker, J. (2008). Gender differences in language use: An analysis of 14000 text samples, *Discourse Processes*, 45, 211-236.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1996). Discourse, power and access. In R. C. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* (pp. 84-104). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Van Dijk, T. (1997). *Political Discourse and Political Cognition*. Printed at Congress Political Discourse, Aston University.
- Van Dijk, T. (1988). *News analysis: Case studies of international and national news in the press*. Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum.
- Van Dijk, T. (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11, 115-140.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). The representation of social actors. In C. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* (pp.3-14). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, L. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publication.
- Wodak, R., & Ludwig, C. (Eds.) (1999). *Challenges in a changing world: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Vienna: Passagenverlag.
- Yarmohammadi, L., & Seif, L. (2004). baaznamaie kaargozaran-e ejtemaaie dar monaazeat-e felestin va esraaiil az tarigh-e saakhtaarhaay-e goftemaandaar-e jamee shenaakhti manaaie (The Representation of Social Actors in Palestine and Israel conflict: Critical discourse analysis with respect to the socio-semantic features). *The sixth conference on linguistics*. Tehran: Alame Tabatabaie University Press.